1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
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him by this name, and substituting some nickname, or patronymic.

But the prestige of lineage depends itself on the attributes of wealth and numbers which have already been examined. It does not help a poor man to claim that his great-grandfather was a famous tselingas with two thousand sheep. It is true that a father, or grandfather, who had the necessary wealth to support the nobility of his line is a saving grace for those who have lost their flocks, but it is a small one. The children of a leading family whose wealth has vanished suffer the same fate as the children of a family whose father, although from a family of the 'first lineage', has married beneath himself, that is they literally 'lose' their name, the surname of the father. Lineage refers to prestige in the past, while the essence of competition in this community is concerned with influence in the present. Therefore, a 'name', without the means to support it, is not recognized.

This, in practice, is the mechanism that restricts the number of families that can successfully claim to be of 'first lineage'. Not all the collateral relatives of a leading family are recognized as equivalent in prestige, for without numbers and wealth they cannot aspire to this. And it is inherently unlikely that they will all possess these advantages. There are two important limiting factors. With the rule of equal inheritance between brothers, the size of the group of brothers which is necessary to build and protect wealth and prestige, itself is the cause, in the next generation, of the fragmentation of this wealth. The second factor is disease. Twenty years ago sheep-pox, and today liver-fluke, are diseases capable of decimating a flock within a short time. However honourable a man, the loss of his flocks must diminish his own prestige to some degree, and that of his children more seriously.

(D) MARRIAGES

Τὸ συμπεθεριό is the affinal relationship between two previously unrelated families. It is in the early days of summer that the families of men who wish to take wives in the following year begin to consider the question of finding suitable affines and, during these weeks, the gossip of the community is much concerned with news and speculation about matchmaking.

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
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form than a passing shadow. Two considerable classes of these spirits are 'the shadows' (τὰ ἰσκιώματα) and 'the things that terrify' (τὰ σκιάσματα)[1]. After dark the former beat men and women about the head and are the cause of pains in the head and teeth. They take hold of your arm or foot and twist it sharply. The latter often attack the sheep which in panic rush in different directions, injuring one another and losing milk.

General disasters such as earthquakes and epidemics may be attributed to the Devil. But his attacks are more often specific. If the Devil falls on the sheep and mounts them, they swell, bleed, and die. If he comes on a shepherd asleep, particularly under a fig or mulberry tree, he presses down with great weight on his chest and attempts to strangle him. The same ladies of good fortune may attack a woman who goes out alone to cut wood, with the possible consequences of paralysis, or loss of speech. But the greatest peril is that you may step, unknowingly, on the table (πατᾶς τάβλα) which a group of male and female demons have laid for a feast. One woman who had this misfortune was found unconscious on the mountainside. She remained in a deep coma, shrinking physically, until she died after 40 days the size of a small child.

But the persons who are in greatest danger from direct attack by the Devil are 'the innocent' (ἀθῶοι), particularly children and young unmarried shepherds. For the innocent person 'does not work in his heart' (δὲν ἐργάζεται στὴν καρδιά), he does not require to plot or scheme against others; his being is not seized by envy and jealousy, he is quiet, detached and free. The Devil unable yet to corrupt them morally, turns in a fury of frustration to destroy them physically. Two years ago a child was found dead with its hands over its face and no mark of injury on its body. It was not wearing a phylactery and nobody doubts that this was the work of the Devil. A young shepherd sleeping on a hillside awoke to see a Sarakatsanos with a mule approaching him from a precipice where no man or animal could pass. There was a moon and he saw that the man's face was black. He said he was Michael Raftis but the shepherd knew he was the Devil. Fortunately he was using

[1] Cf. Chatzimichalis, op. cit., vol. i, Part A, p. ρλθ'

/191 cont./

438 439 the necessity of contact with the outside. The share and the kind of goods and services that they obtain by trade, compared with the possibilities derived from their own environment, show that the Sarakatsani can dispense with them without upsetting their lives. These facts make them self-sufficient and offer them the possibility of avoiding any exchange if circumstances require it. The expression "closed economy" must therefore be understood in this particular sense.

233 731 In the second place, the economy of these herders is a specialized economy. It is based on a single productive activity, herding, which is not carried on without involving certain consequences. When conditions for the exercise of herding become unfavorable (for example, an epidemic), ruin is inevitable. Now, although the Tséligato as a financing body is in 233 731 a position to remedy this situation, the extended family for its part 474 provides able assistance. All the relatives not affected by the calamity 596 must offer animals to the victims so that they can replenish their flocks. [602] Thus, the drawbacks of specialization are transformed into incentives for solidarity and cooperation. However, if these measures prove impracticable or insufficient, there is no alternative but the dissolution of the family and the Tséligato and the enrollment of their members in Tséligatos not afflicted.

433 [554] [434] The third principle of this economy is to be found in the fact that it must insure the Sarakatsani's subsistence and, in some cases, yield them significant social prestige. The speculation and risk peculiar to any commercial enterprise in which profit is an end in itself are unknown to them.

436 437 474 596 From the monetary point of view this economy operates under a double system. There is no circulation of money within the extended family or the Tséligato. All the payments that the head grants his subjects are in kind. In the Tséligato, money appears only at the moment when the seasonal accounting is completed /192/ and when the Tséligas distributes among the

233 825 789 [771] [527] [191]

/258 cont./

in Byzantium: Ἰωάννου ΧΡΥΣΟΣΤΟΜΟΥ: p. 106.--

This is the unlucky person.

Thus, an old Sarakatsani woman told us that one year her husband, inadvertantly, was the first person to enter the hut. That year their sheep gave them only rams.

The second observation has to do with the position on the ground of the young girl who visits the huts. It is a symbolic means of influencing the ewes and compelling them not to chase off their young when the latter try to nurse just after their birth, as they very often do, thus endangering the lives of the newborn animals.

Fertility, Abundance and Prosperity.

233 731 821 789 [221] [796]

The problem of feeding the livestock is only partially solved by the seasonal migrations in search of grass. A drought is enough to destroy everything. To avert such a possibility the Sarakatsani addresses himself again to the universal creative forces personified in other avatars of the Mother-Goddess capable of promoting the fertiltiy of the earth and the abundance of vegetation.

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These avatars are connected with the evolution of ideas about the Mother-Goddess during antiquity in the direction of an acceptance of the existence of a male principle at her side. This principle progressed from being her son, then her companion, first in a fraternal sense then in a sexual one, finally securing supremacy for himself. Generally this figure dies young only to be resurrected later, full of strength /259/ and vitality; it symbolizes nature, which dies in winter and is regenerated in the spring, and to nature it transmits its forces. (32)

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32. The Mother-Goddess becomes Rea, the mother of the Cretan Zeus who is not yet "the father of men and of gods" of the Homeric epoch, but a god of fertility who dies periodically: P.M. Schuhl: Ibid., p. 95, J. Przyluski: Ibid., p. 129, H. Jeanmarie: Couroi et Courètes. She generally becomes Cybele of Phrygia, assisted by Attis; her worship and the passion of